Letter of William Smith O'Brien in answer to the Letter of Gen. Mea-

By request of several of his countrymen, we publish the following letter of WILLIAM SMITH O'Baiss, in response to the letter of General T. F. MEAGHER. Mr. O'BRIEN is a gentleman of marked ability, of cultivative and liberal views. He writes dispassionately, candidly and forcibly, hence the opinions he expresses upon our national troubles and differences are eminently worthy of consideration. They are deserving of a perusal, coming, as they do, from not only an intelligent foreigner, but one who thoroughly sympathizes with our free institutions, and deaires their perpetuation in this country, and their spread the world over.

The letter has been written by Mr. O'BRIEN to the editor of the Dublin Irishman.

KILLARNEY, October 28, 1863.

My Dear Smyth: I perceive that our friend T. F. Meagher, not satisfied with having made in America a series of brilliant orations in favor of a continuance of the civil war that has raged during nearly three years in the United States, has sent a dispatch to Ireland which is evidently intended to induce Irish emigrants to enlist under the Federal banners, upon their arrival in Amer-

I perceive also that you have endorsed the opinions contained in that dispatch with your ap-

Nevertheless, I address this communication to you in full confidence that you will give to the public an opportunity of considering ideas that are totally at variance with those which have been put forward by you and by Gen. Meagher.

Two years ago, I ventured to address to such of the politicians of America as have shown a disposition to pay respect to my opinions, an ear-nest prayer that they would submit to an amica-ble adjustment the questions which had rent in twain the United States, rather than that they should continue to massacre each other. My suggestions were received with deference, but I can scarcely complain that they were not

adopted when the mediation of the Emperor of

the French was declined by Congress in terms which induced that any offer of this would be considered intrusive. Whilst such a spirit is evinced by the Pederals, those friends of America who desire to witness the termination of this war are silenced, I should not have broken this silence if Geu. Meagher had not made an appeal to his fellow countrymen. which, if left unanswered, might induce many thousands of Irishmen to sacrifice themselves in a contest for which their intervention is not de-

manded by any obligations of duty. I can not calculate at less than two hundred thousand the number of Irishmen who have already fallen in this horrible warfare. These men have fallen in the prime of life-in the vigor of youth and strength. Had they fallen in contendng for the freedom of their own country, their memory would have been consecrated by the annals of patriotism. Their heroism would have been admired even by those who bate our nation-but truth compels me to say that these brave men are now regarded as mere mercenaries, who, for the sake of a handfull of dollars, enlist themselves in a strife, the sole object of which is to determine whether one-third of the citizens of the States shall be governed according to their own free choice, or shall be coerced by force to submit to a connection and to a government which they repudiate and

I shall not inquire how many of these Irishmen have been induced by the eloquence of General Meagher to fling themselves into a prematurt grave, but I feel convinced now, as in 1861, that f the Irish population of America had thrown the weight of their influence into the scale in favor of peace, the miseries of war, which have devastated a region that ten years since enjoyed a greater amount of material prosperity than any other portion of the globe, might have been

I feel it to be my duty to take issue with Gen. Meagher on this point, immediately after his first oration at Boston in favor of the war. My remonstrances were at that time unavailing. He mised his brigades! Where are they now? Yet I feel convinced that the time will arrive when all Irishmen will regret that my advice did not prevail over the exhortations of our eloquent and

popular friend.

Notning but a sense of duty could place me in antagonism to a comrade who shared many of my hopes and disappointments; but as there are some in Ireland, and in America, too, who pay attention to what I say, I feel it to be incumbent upon me, at a time when thousands upon thousands of Irishmen are quitting our shores, to declare that it would be infinitely better for them to remain at home earning a shilling a day than to be seduced by the glitter of military trappings—by the so-licitations of crimps and man brokers—or by the invocation of the most splendid oratory-to persh as mercenaries in the unboly strife which now desolates the States of America.

General Meagher complains that the Irish peo-ple have identified themselves with the Orangemen and Tories of England in their sympathy with the rebels of the South. This charge pro-ceeds from a misconception of the state of feeling that prevails in this country. There are few Englishmen or Anglicised Irishmen who do not rejoice in the separation which has taken place between the Southern and Northern States, because they were accustomed to feel that the nrowth of American power under the Union was so rapid as to become extremely formidable to England. On the other hand the patriotic party in Ireland deeply regret the severance of these States, because they found the increasing strength of the United States a guarantee against English oppression, which, under various contingen might be useful for the protection of Ireland. But after this war had unhappily broken outwhen from the course of eventsit became manifest to all mankind that there is between South and North an alienation of feeling which cannot be reconciled-when it became evident that the South, even if conquered, could be retained in connection with the North only by coercionthen the lovers of human freedom-the uphold ers of the right of self-government-began to feel that though the dissolution of the Union might be a great calamity, its maintenance by such means as are employed by Russia in order to retain Poland under subjection would be a greater evil. Instead, therefore, of hounding on the combatants to mutual destruction, we earnestly cray that the Americans may settle their

differ mess by amicable adjustment, even though the eparation my be injurious to us. fermit me further to observe that whilst the prtriots of Ireland deeply lament the destruction and rapine which now desolate America, those Englishmen who hate the Americans-and they are not few-rejoice to witness the fury with which the Northerners continue to carry on the war, because the exhaustion of resources which war produces to both the contending parties power. Those Englishmen, also, who hate Ireand-and they are not a few-are delighted to find such a man as Meagher stimulating his fellow courarymen to rush into the shambles in which butchery awaits them. They know that every Irishman who has fled to America is an enemy of England. Naturally, therefore, they rejoice when they learn that the number of their enemies is diminished weekly by the operations of a relentless war. We, then, who wish for eace are entitled to rebut the charge of General Meagher by declaring that he is acting a part which is acceptable to those whom he calls "the Orangemen and Tories of England"

An impression prevails in the minds of some of our deluded fellow countrymen, to the effect that Gen. Meagher is exciting them with such carnestness to take part in the civil war of America with a view to prepare them for the in vasion of Ireland. A more absurd mode of preparing them to attack an enemy was never de-vised by the imagination of man. It is not told low many Irishmen who enlisted in the Souther armies have been sent into another world by Meagher's brigade; but it has been stated (I believe on his authority) that he carried twelve hundred fine young Irishmen into the battle of Fredericksburg, and that he brought out of that engagement unbarmed only two hundred and fifty. Could the worst enemies of Ireland desire that the Irish should be spurred to destruction by infatuation more insane than that which those induces Irishmen to butcher each other in this

eral Mengher excuses us on the ground that we are ignorant respecting American affairs, and abstains from imputing base motives to our desire that peace should be restored in the Western World. Following his example, I will not impute to him impute to him. pute to him improper motives for the course which he has adopted. Had he received the honors which are due to his eloquence and to his ors which are due to his eloquence and to his gallantry, his motives might have been questioned; but we have been led to believe that Meagher, as well as Shields, has been treated with much adignity by the Federal Government, and whilst we wooder at the forgiving disposition that has seen displayed by our gallant Brigadier, we feel cound to dissuade our country men from entering nound to dissuade our countrymen from ent a service in which they will be placed fore

ution of honors and emoluments. But if our oratorical friend spares us he shows when, according to Gen. Meagher, the Southerns no such decorous reserve toward the Southern, were occupants of all the influential positions of who were accustomed to receive with kindness the general government. I do not remember and hospitality the exiles of Ireland. Upon them that the interests connected with official patton which he commands. Now, it is not forgoten. ten by me, at least, that when in 1854 the Know Nothing party of the Northern States sought to proscribe the Irish born population, the South tion of such elements into the consideration of this question. Let us suppose that, in 1782, their head, co-operated with the nobler spirits of the North in crushing that mischievous faction. It is not forgotten by me that nowhere did I find by a concession of the demands of Ireland, the Reitish ministers and appoint forward, I do not conceive that any imputation of "lawless ambounded upon the introduction of such elements into the consideration of this question. Let us suppose that, in 1782, their head, co-operated with the nobler spirits of the amicable adjustment which then took place. a kinder feeling towards Ireland than at Charles-ton, where the names of Meagher and of Shields ant in Ireland, who would undoubtedly have were mentioned with an enthusiasm that they filled all official stations with Englishmen, or

Southern rebels as aristocrats. Now, I am un | ted to the arbitrament of the sword the quesable to discover upon what manifestations of tions that were then at issue between England Southern feeling he founds this charge that the and Ireland? Neither is Mr. Toombs to be secession is an aristocratic and not a popular blamed for having taken into account this ele-movement. It seems to me that there has sel- ment in considering the relations between the om been an insurrection which has with such | Southern and Northern States of America. believe that the term aristocrat is just as appliable to the Northern as it is to the Southern; planters of the South. I do not found this remark on my own observation, for I experienced nothing but courtesy in all parts of America. But General Meagher wholly misunderstands the nature of Irishmen if he supposes that he can raise in their minds a prejudice against a party by calling them aristocrats. An Irishman natur ally loves the "old stock"-nor is this surprising. for many of our peasantry feel that, though they have lost property and station by the fidelity of their ancestors to their country and to their reigion, still as noble blood flows in their veins as otentates of Europe. The Southerner may, herefore, accept with pride the designation aris tocrats, and Irishmen will honor them more on account of this appellation, when they learn that

of their birth.

signed to everlasting bondage. the invasion of the North by half a million of colored troops, armed and led by their former mus-

God forbid that I should say a word in favor I have spent much time in analizing the letter f slavery. The one redeeming advantage that of General Meagher, because, although, it is adhave contemplated as a possible result of this dressed to a private friend, it was evidently writconflict, is that it may induce the Southerners to ten as an appeal to the public opinion of this voluntarily emancipate their slaves; but I will country. Though it is overladen with cumulanot allow my countrymen to be misled by grand- tive epithets of declamatory invective, it is a iloquent vituperation, so as to believe that this production which has evidently been prepared with resent war is a war undertaken for the abolition | care, and deserves a deliberate response. In of slavery in America As for our friend Mea- this respect it contrasts favorably with an elecgher himself, I have no reason to suppose that he ever objected to being the guest or the friend of the electors of Ohio in opposition to the claims those "who grew sleek and haughty on the of Mr. Vallandigham, in whose person all the sweat of the black skin;" and if, like some of his rights which belong to a free citizen have been friends at Mobile and Charleston, he had inherit- violated. Sad, indeed, is it to me to find that ed an estate to which a hundred slaves were at- our comrade, who was once the champion of hu tached, I am by no means convinced that he man liberty, has enlisted himself as the defender

the main question at issue the various fallacies | champion of his country's freedom, has become and prejudices by which it has been surrounded, an advocate of a system of government which I now address myself to the question whether Virginia, Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississ- By suspending the writ of what form of government is most conducive to single ruler or of his minions. their interests, and acceptable to their feelings.

This appears to me a question which does not army, through the instrumentality of conscripare of metropolitan dominion is less felt than approval of their own consciences. in Canada, yet General Meagher would deny to the Canadians the right to declare their independence, or to associate themselves with the tied to each individual State. States of America. It is difficult, therefore, to understand by what process of reasoning he can satisfy himself that Ireland enjoys into effect such a system of measures against the he can satisfy himself that Ireland enjoys such a right—that Poland enjoys such a right—that Canada enjoys such a right—that Aus. all who abet him the executation of mankind. trailis enjoys such a right-but that the States of America, which never for a moment relinquished the title of sovereignty that belongs to them individually, ought to be lebarred from the enjoyment of a similar right. With very questionable taste, he gives, instead of an argument, an anecdote, in which he relates a an argument, an anecdote, in which he relates a private conversation that was held at New York, by Mr. Toombs, a distinguished Southern, whose sympathies with Ireland and Irishmen have been born, he might have applied his persuasive dicinreservedly exhibited. This conversation is given at second hand. General Meagher did not hear it himself. The inference which he wishes his | which now burns before the altar of Moloch. readers to draw from it is that the chief men of the South stimulated the secession movement America for a model of political institutions and for an identification of interests, instead of opoly of the offices of the Southern States. Now, I may be allowed to set off conversations which I heard myself against those which Gen. Meagher received through report from a friend. When I was in Georgia, in the very 1850. received through report from a friend. When I quences, from this civil war. He might have was in Georgia, in the year 1859, I had the gladdened the hearts of all who belong to the pleasure of apending two days at the house of Mr. Toombs, and two days at the house of Mr. Stephens, now Vice President of the Confederate States. Our conversation naturally turned much apon the relations which then existed between to America the emissaries of the world by nobly vindicating the cause of human freedom on behalf of those who suffer in every clime, instead of standing foremost among those who welcome upon the relations which then existed between he Northern and Southern States My nosts, one of whom had retired from public life, said nothing that could notice me to think that their minds were ffected by considerations connected with official atronage, but they complained much of the calmaies which are daily vented against the Southerns by a portion of the Northern press. They spoke with indignation of the incentives by which their slaves were encouraged to revolt against them—they complained of the injustice, commer cial and financial, which the Southern States un-

n every post of danger, and last in every distri- These conversations were held more than a year before the election of Mr Lincoln-at a time would have failed to excite among the party to with Irishmen who were opposed to the national interests, would Meagher have reproached them if they had made the appointment of such ed, General Meagher repeatedly designates the a Lord Lieutenant a casus belei, and had subjec-

unanimity embraced all classes of society as the secession of the Southern States. If this be so, which the Southerners have been assailed, because it is unworthy of a statesmen to condescend to at the time of the secession they took possesaise prejudices against the Southerners by call- sion of the forts and arsenals which were situated ing them aristocrats. It is the more inconsistent in the Southern territory. Those forts and ar-because he taunts the Emperor Napoleon with sinals belong as much to the Southerners as to being a parvenu, and because it is well known to the Northerners, and as the secession naturally his friends that General Meagher himself feels it gave to the Northerners the arsenals and dock to be a subject of honorable pride that he is de- yards which were situated in the Northern cended from the chiefs of Ikerrin. For my part, States, so it gave to the Southerners those which are situated in the seceding States. If the Irish insurrection of 1848 had been successand I have been told that the moneyed aristocra- ful, would not General Meagher have laughed to cy of New York are more purse proud scorn any one who should have reproached him and more overbearing in their manners for taking possession of Spike Island, because it than the richest and most aristocratic was called by the English a British fort? Fort Sumter stands in relation to Charleston in a position exactly similar to that which is occupied by Spike Island in relation to Cork.

Let it not be supposed, however, that I write

these pages with a view to justify the secession. When I made a tour of the Southern States of

North America, in 1859, I earnestly implored my

Southern friends to renounce the idea of a separation which could not fail to be disastrons to them as well as to the whole of the Republic. When I learned that, instead of endeavoring to obtain redress for their real or imaginary grievthat which is to be found amongst the proudest | ances by peaceful negotiation, the forces of South Carolina had fired upon Fort Sumpter, I thought it extremely natural that the inhabitants of the Northern States should meet force by force in maintenance of the Union. Mr. H. W. Beecher many of the most prominent families in the asked an auditory in London, last week, whether South quitted the richest homes of England and | Englishmen would or ought to tolerate the se-Ireland because they loved religious and politi cession of Kent from the political unity which cal freedom better than the delights which beonged to aristocratical indulgences in the land land. I answer without besitation that such a secession ought to be prevented by force whilst Gen. Meagher is more sure of exciting amongst Kent enjoys equality of rights with the other incalls them slave owners than when he designates speaking theoretically, that South Carolina, or them as aristocrats. The Irish people feel an in-vincible aversion to the institution of slavery. Yet as a practical question, it is not unnatural that and if this war were really a war of emancipation | the other members of the United States should there would be few in Ireland who would not endeavor to prevent by force a secession which pray for the success of the Northerners. But no may be injurious to the whole Union. But since one knows better than Gen. Meagher that the after a succession of bloody engagements it has resent war is not a war for the emancipation of been seen that what appeared at first to be the the slaves, but that it is a war which is carried whim of a single State, is the deliberate resolve on for the purpose of upholding the Union. No of several millions of people—since it has been one knows better than Gen. Meagher that a large seen that though contending under many difficulmajority of those who are fighting in the ranks of ties and disadvantages, the Southern leaders the Northern regard the abolition of slavery as bave displayed more able statesmanship and more a mischievous and fanatical faction-that this skillful strategy than have been exhibited by their majority would continue to uphold and enforce adversaries-when it is manifest that they posthe detestable "Fugitive Slave Law," and all sess all the qualifications which render a people the other appliances incidental to slavery, pro- fitted for self-government-an attempt to coerce vided that the slaveholding States would re- them into enforced subjection becomes nothing turn to the Union. Had it been a war of less than unjustifiable and intolerable tyranny. emancipation, Congress would have seized the At the time when, in 1861, I addressed a letter opportunity afforded by the secession to enact on this subject to Mr. Seward, it was said by the and promulgate the freedom of every slave in Northerns that the war would be terminated in the United States. But it has done no such three months—vet now after the lapse of thirty thing. It has authorized President Lincoln to months, it is doubtful whether Washington is declare that the slaves of rebels over whom he has now no sway are free, but the slaves of apprehended by Richmond or Charleston; and, the loyal upholders of the Union, who are subject to the legislation of Congress, are still con- tion of many important posts in the Southern territory they do not appear to have recon-No one knows better than Gen. Meagher that | ciled to their dominion any important section he condition of the emancipated slave in the of the inhabitants of the revolted States. The North is more humiliating to a sensitive spirit question, therefore, recurs which I put to Mr. than the enforced subjection which is maintained | Seward in 1861-assuming that you will sooner in the South. He knows that, with a few excep- or later conquor the Southern States, how do you tions, the Northern emancipator will neither eat, propose to govern them? If you leave to them pray, nor travel with men of color-even though | the rights of self government, which they have they be as well educated and refined as the most hitherto enjoyed, they will be more dangerous to accomplished of the white population. He knows you as unwilling associates than they could be in that the President has held out no other hope to the emancipated slaves of the South than that of therefore, no other policy by which these territocompulsory removal to some land distant from ries can be governed except that which was forthe homes of their childhood. He knows that merly adopted by England toward Ireland—and the conditions and prospects of the emancipated which is now practiced in Poland by Mouravief slaves are such that, of the many millions of and Berg under the sanction and approval of the slaves to whom the present war has afforded an tyrant Alexander. This is the policy of confisopportunity of fleeing from servitude, only a cation, devastation, and of extermination. That ew thousands have sought to escape, though lean and hungry adventurers should covet the they have been stimulated by the Northerners, rich possessions of the Southern planters, and not only to fiee from their masters, but also to urge forward a system of confiscation and exterplunder and to massacre the families amongst | mination which will resemble the plantation of whom they have lived from their infancy. He Ulster and the cruelties of Cromwell, is extremehas yet to learn that the Southern may prefer to | iv natural; but, it is a spectacle painful and hutrust themselves to their slaves rather than sub- miliating to all lovers of freedom to find one of mit to Northern domination and that before this the representative men of the Irish race-himself norrible struggle shall be ended we may witness | an exile and a Catholic-vindicating a course of

of every sort of tyraunical usurpation-Thomas Having thus endeavored to disconnect from Francis Meagher, the young tribune, once the

By suspending the writ of habeas corpus, and ippi, and the other seceding States, have or have thereby suspending the personal liberty of every not a natural and indefeasible right to determine citizen of the United States at the caprice of a

admit of argument on the part of those who, like tion, all who cannot afford to purchase their de-T. F. Meagher, have contended that Ireland and Poland have a moral right to withdraw from the domination of England or of Russia. There is, willing conscripts into fields of battle where they perhaps, no part of the world in which the press- perish for a cause which is not sanctioned by the By superceding the rights which, under the

noble Polish nation, as has won for him and

Alas! that we should have ever witnessed such back-sliding on the part of an Irish patriot! If such be the result of republican freedom (so-called) in America, we shall soon learn to be reconciled to the worst forms of European despot-

tion to the restoration of peace, instead of urging those millions to fling their sons into the fire, The enemies of Ireland will rejoice that he has made such a choice between these alternatives; but though he may find defenders and apologists amongst a few attached friends, our heads droop with shame when we find one of our chosen chiefs has lending the support of Lis great abilities to the cause of the oppressor rather than to the pro-tection of the oppressed. To no one has the lan-guage employed in America on many occasions by General Meagher since the commencement of this war given more pair than to myself; and

ince he has invited an expression of the

derwent, as a consequence of their connection with the North—they spoke of the secession as a probable contingency—as an event which would probably impose upon them many sacrifices; but they stated that these sacrifices would be accepted by the South as an alternative preferable to a continuance of the relations which then subsisted between the Northern and Southern States.

to fling themselves into the abyss which so many who have gone before them have perished.

Believe me, my dear friend, very sincerely WM. SMITH O'BRIEN. P. J. SMYTH, Esq.

American Union an Impossibility. [From the London Times, Nov. 14.] The cost of the American civil war to one of the belligerents has now been stated with some pproach to precision, if not accuracy. The orthern States, we are told on "official" authority, have actually sent into the field 1,276,246 men. But this only brings the account up to January last, since which time the Federal Goverument has made the most desperate efforts to increase its forces. Upon the whole, we can hardly be far wrong in presuming that a million and a half of soldiers must have been raised from a population not exceeding that of this Island-a proportion never attained, we believe. in any European contest on record. As regards money, the facts are more difficult to ascertain, but the debt incurred by the Northern States was 'approximately" stated as \$1,228,832,791 on the 1st of last September. Our correspondent, howquate representation of the liabilities actually inurred, and tells us that the estimate of the public debt formed by competent judges places the amount "between twenty five hundred and three thousand million dollars." In English money this would be between £500,000,000 and 600,000, 000 sterling, and the annual charge at the current rate of interest must be considerably above

-It is natural, after such revelations as these, to ask once more what is the object of so tremendous and exhausting a contest. The answer is given in a single word, "Union," and we may, perhaps, consider that this reply does really ex-press the predominant feeling of the Northern people. No doubt many minor motives are included, and many interests are at work more or less perceptibly under cover of this universal cry, but in the main an instinctive craving for the "American Union" is probably the ruling passion. We think that passion natural, but we cannot regard it as reasonably indulged. To impartial observers it appears that whatever might have been the character of the Union, it became a political impossibility when one-third of its citizens deliberately refused to continue it any longer. That resolution might have been both destructive and suicidal, but it could not, to any good purpose, he overruled. Even if the Unionists could crush the seceders, which seems utterly improbable, the result, as we are assured by General Butler himself, would not bring the Union back again, nor can even the most com plete success on the part of the North leave America anything but a divided and distracted

The Americans of the old Union were bent ipon escaping the common political lot of mankind. They were not in reality quite such a people as they imagined themselves, but their growth had been so prodigiously rapid and promised to be so continuous, that they may be almost excused for setting no bounds to their own "destinies." They conceived, therefore, the idea of a nation not only incomparably greater, but in- Of iron globes,"comparably more fortunate than any other ma banished all the drags and draw-backs patiently endured by European States. The world in which they lived-that is, the New World-was to be absolutely their own, in undivided and indivisible integrity. Though they might number a hundred millions of men, these were all to form one people under one President, with one common country. The great American continent must have but one State, and to be exempted from all the obligations of political rivalries, all the exigencies of a political equilibrium, and all wars, except wars cheerfully accepted for the sake of conquest or supremacy. They were to be not as we are in this "rotton" Old World, and their happy exemption from the common burdens of pational life would relieve them from debt, taxes, standing armies and all those innumerable fjustments and sacrifices which the States of Canada to enlist. Surope are fain to make for the sake of peace and quietness. That was the idea of Americans. It required a whole world for its fulfillment, but they were bent on satisfying the condition. They __A battery in Virginia the other day shelled talked unreservedly of the time when all the a negro funeral, thinking it was a body of rebels they were bent on satisfying the condition. They other States of America would gravitate to their throwing up intrenchments. own mass and become absorbed in it like comets in the sun, and in the meantime they elevated to the dignity of an indefeasible "doctrine" a declaration that he European power should venture per day. to acquire on the American continent a particle

of power, privilege or authority beyond its actual This is the idea which the secession of the South so rudely demolished. We admit that it save it, but that result was impossible; and if he statesman of the North could have looked dispassionately into the future they must have seen that civil war would infallibly destroy those very things which it was designed to preserve from destruction. The founders of the republic foresaw as much, and many persons in America liscern as much now. It may be remarked, indeed, that scarcely any public man, however confidently he may regard the war, pretends to speak of the Union as a thing which, in its old shape, will ever be seen again. They expect to see the South subdued and the American naion left without a rival, but that nation will not reasonable citizen can either desire or anticipate the actual "extermination" of nine millions of cople. The South even if it could be subdued, would always be represented by a hostile and vindictive population, and the North would simoly become a Russia with a Poland.

Such a war as this has been, and is likely to be. must necessarily leave memories behind it as compatible with national unity as territorial partitions; nor is there any force in the argument | those. of the Unionists that the suppression of this re-bellion will prevent any secession in future. On the contrary, this war has already brought out and disclosed the strongest incompatibilities be-tween the various States of the Union, and set each group meditating secession in its turn. There was a moment when the Northwestern States were actually expected to separate their fortunes from the States of the Northeast, and years both in quality and quantity. the divergence of their interests has been clearly recognized. Yet, if the Northwestern as well as the Southern States had declared for separation, where would have been the power to put a force upon their will? If two Confederacies instead of one had been formed in the body of the old Union, how could the remaining fraction have evaded the issue? Does anything at this minute prevent the secession of certain States, except on as briskly as would be desirable. he pressure of an enormous army, and what may we expect if this army, as seems not im-probable, should fall to pieces from exhaustion? It was natural enough for Americans to con-nect the wars of the Old World with the divisons of the Old World, and to strive for indivisipility as the means of preventing war. But when, to secure this, they went to war, they for feited the very prize for which they were con-contending. "We can have none of pour European troubles," they said; "we must have, on in contending for these privileges they have had as much war, as much bloodshed and as much extravagance of outlay as would have carried hem over a century in the European fashion. Their debt, in fact, is as great as curs already, so that, on this point, they have nothing left to save. Their levies of men have exhausted the spirit, if not the strength, of the population, and

The original draft of the proclamation of they are raising such monuments of domestic bate as generations will not suffice to remove. They have incurred, in short, all those visitations which they have been fighting to escape, and have only encountered the common lot in a precipitate and extraordinary manner.

Their ideal Union was a grand conception, but t was based on the assumption that human nature would not be human nature on the American continent, and that millions of men distribute inder a variety of conditions and a variety of nterests, over an enormous territory, would esafallibly made half a dozen nations out of one Infallibly made half a dozen nations out of one. They speculated not only upon a new world but a new nature, and they have been disappointed by the event; but the worst that can happen, even from their own point of view, is that they should fare as all other people have fared before them. They hoped to do better than this, and are vexed at the failure; but the failure from the first was irretrievable. They may liquidate their debt and replenish their population, but they can never become the people they designed to be. For the destruction of that ideal the South is accountable, and most take the responsibility; but when once and must take the responsibility; but when once nine millions out of thirty millions had declared that they would rather die than remain in union with the rest, the political vision of the Americans was proved to be a delusion.

The "War Democrata" of Ohio, Indiane and Illinois are advertised to meet in Chicago on the 25th of this month. We suggest that they meet at some recruiting office, don a Federal uniform, and show their faith by their works.—[New

The opening of the Mississippi is so much reality that the receipts of cotton at New reans are becoming sufficient to give the levee of that city an appearance of real activity.

Arbitrary Tests.

The radical papers are declaring to their readers that the test oath which was prescribed at the Delaware election contained nothing which any onest man could not take, and take willingly It may be that a radical conscience could be stretched with ease to the requirements of this oath, but not so an honest man's conscience.

"I do solemnly swear that I will support, protect and defend the Constitution and government of the United States against all enemies, whether domestic or foreign; that I hereby pledge my alle-giance, fatih and loyalty to the same, any ordinance, resolution or law of any State Convention or State Legislature to the contrary notwithstanding; that I will at all times yield a hearty and willing obedience to the said Constitution and government, and will not, directly or indirectly, do any act in hostility to the same, either by taking up arms against them, or aiding, abetting or countenancing those in arms against them; that, without permission from the lawful authority, I will have no communication, direct or indirect, with the States in insurrection against the United States, or with either of them, or with any person persons within said insurrectionary States; sr that I will in all things deport myself as a good and loyal citizen of the United States. This I do in good faith, with full determination, pledge and purpose, to keep this, my sworn obligation, and without any mental reservation or evasion whatever.

The oath of every officeholder in Massachu-setts, u less we are mistaken, still requires—as it certainly but lately did-him who takes it to bear true allegiance to Massachusetts. The honest citizen of Massachusetts certainly would not take the oath above prescribed. Nor is there any authority at Washington, or in the United States, competent to require the taking of such an oath by any citizen. Force there may be, authority there is not. Oaths are solemn obligations It is the duty of every American citizen to swear to support the Constitution of the United States. But to swear allegiance to the United States when possibly the law of his State requires him to swear allegiance to his State, and when he thinks allegiance due there, is what an honest man can do. This is not extreme State-rights doctrine. It is only simply honesty which hesitates at perjury. Radical men define "allegiance" a little too severely for some men not radical.

The imposition of such an oath, not known to State law, at a State election, by an arbitrary military power, is an outrage that strikes a territible blow at our institutions. It cannot be defended as a right. It was a great wrong.—[New York Journal of Commerce.

MILTON ON PARBOT GUNS .- The Toronto Globe referring to the enormous artillery used by us in the operations before Charleston, says: Caunon so enormous that Milton could conceive them as being alone used by supernatural beings-deep throated engines-

Embowelled with outrageous noise the air, And all her entrails tore, disgorging from Their devilish glut, chained thunderbolts and hail

tion ever known. From this ideal state they banished all the drags and draw-backs patiently of this present year eighteen hundred and sixty

Verily the great poet must have had a view of

first-class Yankee bombardment.

The radical papers exult over the defeat of 'Tuttle, the copperhead," who was the Demoeratic candidate for Governor in Iowa. A Mr. Tuttle is a Brigadier General under Grant, winning victories for the Union, the justice of this epithet is not apparent. In plain language, its use in such a connection is infamous.

ALL SORTS OF PARAGRAPHS.

-The skeddadlers are returning to Maine from

-The stud of a well known sporting man at Flushing, L 1., sold recently for \$50,000.

-At a fashionable up town hotel in New York the board of pet dogs has been fixed at one dollar

-The total number of emigrants arrived at New York to the 18th ult. was 140,585. To same date last year 68,294.

-Gen. Butler is in North Carolina. If he was an idea worth fighting for, if fighting could doesn't make all the white people of that State rebels, it will be his own fault. -One hundred million more feet of lumber than usual are in the Western markets, and yet

> the prices are higher than ever. -The Chicago Post-a War Democratic paper-is proposing a Republican candidate for Governor, and puffs him enormously.

> -The Southern Christian Advocate says a religious revival is going on among the soldiers in Fort Sumter. About two hundred have joined the church.

-- Diptheria is prevailing to an alarming exbe the nation of former days. Whatever may be tent in many of the towns in New Hampshire. the ravings of fanatics, it is impossible that any Nineteen persons died in one day in a village containing about seventy voters.

-About two thousand boxes and packages have arrived at Fortress Monroe by Adam's Express, en route for Union prisoners in and about Richmond, from their triends at the North.

-The Marquis of Westminster's income is

\$5,000 a day, and that of the four leading Rothschilds \$1,000 an hour! Precious hours -Andy Johnson, of Tennessee, is described as feeling splendid—his eye on the Presidency and

his hand on three salaries-Governor, Senator and General. -The farmers of Pennsylvania are busily engaged in husking corn, and it is said that the crop is an excellent one, exceeding that of former

—In Richmond good whiskey sells at \$5,000 a barrel, rebel money. Au inferior article can be had for \$2,000. A glass of brandy commands

-In Pennsylvania during the month of October, the number of men mustered into the United States service was 207. Recruiting is not going

-The numerous disqualifications for service framed previous to the late draft have been reduced in number, by an order from the War Department from 51 to 41

-The new fractional currency is to be issued, after all, notwithstanding its bad design, wretched engraving and execrable printing. So says a Washington dispatch.

-The valuation of the Protestant churches of San Francisco is given at \$282,415, of the Roman Chatholic churches \$380,906, of the Jewish religious organizations \$35,800.

-A new Administration paper is to be started at Louisville. The arrangements are about perfected for its issue on the 1st of January next.

-The original draft of the proclamation of emancipation was sold in Chicago to a quack doctor, who is to have a fac simile engraved to ornament his nostrums. That's double quackery. -Few parents like to be told of the faults of a child. The reason is obvious. All faults are

eitner hereditary or educational; and in either case to point a finger at a child is, indirectly, to reprove the parent. -A jealous woman at Washington cowhided her husband for dancing with a former sweet-heart, and was fined \$5 for assault and battery.

What is the country coming to if a wife can't whip her own husband? -The American Horse Nail Company at Providence have invented a steam spading machine which will do the work of fifteen yoke of cattle, requiring only a man and a boy to operate it. It consumes a quarter of a cord of wood per

-The Washing Republican says there are fifteen thousand prostitutes in that city. Verily, the Republican promises to "restore us to the purity of the fathers" are being beautifully ful-

Only Four.—The New York Express says that "by the final report of the Supervisors' committee, it appears that out of this large city only four drafted persons are elected to go to the war. All the other conscripts succeeded in obtaining substitutes."

—A traveler stopped at a hotel in Wheeling several days. His trunk looked cheap, but was very heavy, when carried up stairs. Traveler disappeared; trunk was heavier than before; it could not be lifted. Landlord broke it open;

SEWING MACHINES.

SEWING MACHINES.

THE GROVER & BAKER S. M. CO., FURNISH A greater variety of Family Machines than any other They are kept in order easier than any other.

They make noth stitches - the single lock or seam allke a both sides, and the double lock or Grover & Baker

They Embroider. They Braid. They do all kinds of Family Sewing. They make less noise than any other

IT IS A FACT

GROVER & BAKER

That you can run Fine, Coarse and Medium Cloth on the

With greater facility than you can on any other Machine.
W. H. TURNER, Agent for Indiana,
St West Washington street, Indianapolis, Indiana.

ADMINISTRATOR'S NOTICE. TOTICE IS HEREBY GIVEN THAT THE UNDER-SIGNED has taken out letters of administration, with the will annexed, on the estate of Anna Roberts, late of Marion County, deceased. All persons having claims against said estate are requested to present them immediately for settlement, and all persons knowing themselves to be indebted to said estate are requested to make immediate payment. Said estate is supposed to be solvent.

JACOB ROBERTS, nov30-w3w Administrator with the will annexed.

OTICE is hereby given that the undersigned has been appointed Administrator of the estate of any Ray, late of Marion county, deceased. Said date is supposed to be rolvent, decl-ditawiw DAVID HUFF, Administrator.

day of January next, between the hours of 10 ock in the forenoen and 5 o'clock in the afternoon of

day, at Sweeny & Littleton's Distillery, in the city of ria, county of Peorla, and State of Illinois, one set of

EXECUTOR'S SALE. TOTICE IS HEREBY GIVEN, THAT ON THE 15th

Barrel Machinery, complete, Trapp's Patent, and other articles, will be sold at public sale.

Terms of Sale—Purchase, of less than five dollars to be paid in hand; for that amount and over, on a credit of aix onths, the purchaser giving note, with approved se-Executor ATTACHMENT NOTICES.

Notice in Attachment.

William R. Hogshire | Before William Sullivan, a Justice vs. of the Peace, in and for Centre Benajah R. Nordyke. Township, Marion County, Indiana, wherein John Tarlton is held to

ATOTICE IS HEREBY GIVEN THAT THE ABOVE entitled sait, now pending before me, will be beard and finally adjudicated at my office, in the City of Indi-anapolis, on the 17th day of December, 1863, at 9 o'clock in the forenoon, when and where all parties cencerned will appear, proscoute, defend and answer, or fell at their

[L. s.] vember, 1863. WM. SULLIVAN, J. P. Notice in Attachment.

Witness my hand and scal this 18th day of No

Attachment for \$10 00. John D. Eskew. Marion County, Indiana.

NOTICE IS HEREBY GIVEN THAT THE FINAL hearing and adjudication, in the above entitled suit, will take place before me, at my office in the city of Indianapolis, County and State aforesaid, on the 17th day of December, 1863, at 2 o'clock in the afternoon, when and where the parties and others interested will attend, rosecute, defend and answer, or fail at their peril. [L. 8.] Witness my hand and seal at the city of Indi-[L. S.] anapolis, this 20th of November, 1863. nov23-w3w WM. SULLIVAN, J. P.

NOTICE.

TOTICE IS HEREBY GIVEN THAT THE UNDER SIGNED has this day been appointed Executrix of the last will and testament of Thomas D. Walpole, late of Marion county. Said estate is solvent November 16, 1863. ESTHER WALPOLE, nov23-w3w

INSURANCE.

RELIABLE INSURANCE. Farmers and Merchants Insurance Company,

Of Quincy, Illinois. Capital, July, 1863, \$300,000 00,

And Rapidly Increasing. Secured by Lien on Real Estate, Cash Value over \$1,000,000.

ASPECIAL ATTENTION GIVEN TO THE INSURANCE of Detached Dwellings, Farm Bulldings and their ontents, including Live Stock, against loss or damage by Fire or Lightning. All losses sustained by this Company have been premptly adjusted and paid long before maturity, to the entire satisfaction of the sufferers, which policy of prompt-

ness will be continued. W. N. CLINE, President. W. R. VAN FRANK, Secretary.

HOTELS.

F. BALLWEG. F. A. REITZ. COMMERCIAL HOTEL,

(FORMERLY FARMERS' HOTEL,) One Square North of Union Depot, East Side of Illinois Street, INDIANAPOLIS, IND.

THIS HOTEL HAS BEEN RECENTLY REFITTED and refurnished. The traveling public will be hown every attention to make them feel at home.

MEDICAL.

TO THE LADIES OF AMERICA!

MORE VALUABLE THAN GOLD!
MORE VALUABLE THAN GOLD DR. JNO. L. LYONS

FRENCH PERIODICAL DROPS. FRENCH PERIODICAL DROPS.

iffering from Irregularity or Obstruction of the Menses from whatever cause. IT IS SURE TO CURE!

time, the quantity and quality. When they are obstruct- more for me, and advised me to see a clergyman, and finally CONSUMPTION assumes its sway, and pre-

IT REMOVES ALL OBSTRUCTIONS!

My DROPS TO CURE Suppression of the Menses from whatever cause, though care should be taken that my irections are carefully adhered to. BUY THE SAFEST

WHICH IS LYON'S DROPS: WHICH IS LYON'S DROPS:

THEY ACT LIKE A CHARM By strengthening and invigorating and restoring the ays tem to a healthy condition. It moderates all excess and moves all obstructions, and a speedy cure may be reed one described but along a street of

TO MARRIED LADIES They are peculiarly adapted, as they bring on RE WISE IN TIME!

ONE BOTTLE CURES DO NOT BE IMPOSED UPON DO NOT BE IMPOSED UPON

an not got it make him buy it for you, or it may be ob-sined of the General Agent for the United States, C. G. CLARK & CO.,

MEDICAL.

NOT ALCOHOLIC.

A Highly Concentrated Vegetable Extract.

DR. HOOFLAND'S

GERMAN BITTERS.

PREPARED BY

Dr. C. M. Jackson, Philad'a, Pa.

Liver Complaint,

Chronic or Nervous Debility, Diseases

of the Kidneys, and all diseases arising from a disordered Liver or Stomuch,

tations, sinking or Flutering at the Pit of the omach, Swimming of the Head, Hurried and Difficul Breathing, Fluttering at the Heart, Choking or Suffoating Sensations when in a lying rosture, Dimness of Vision, Dots or Webs before the Sight, Fever and Dull Pain in the Head, Deficiency of . Perspiration, Yellowness of the Skin and Eyer, Pain in the Side, Rack, Chest, Limbs, Sudden P.ushes of Heat, Burning in the Flesh,

And will positively prevent YELLOW FEVER, BILLIOUS FRYER, &c. They contain

out of a hundred. NDUCED BY THE EXTENSIVE SALE AND UNIVER. SAL popularity of Hoofiand's German Bitters (purely vegetable) hosts of ignorant quacks and unscrupulous
adventurers, have opened upon suffering humanity the
flood gates of neutrums in the shape of poor whisky, vilely compounded with injurious drugs, and christened
Tonics, Stomachics and Bitters.

Beware of the innumerable array of alcoholic prepara-only aggravate disease, and leave the disappointed suf-Do you want something to strengthen you?

> Do you want to build up your constitution? Do you want to feel well? Do you want to get rid of nervousness? Do you want energy?

Do you want a brisk and vigorous feeling? If you do use HOOFLAND'S GERMAN

Although not disposed to favor or recommend patent medicines in general, through distrust of their ingredients and effects. I yet know of no sufficient reasons why a man may not testify to the benefits he believes himself to have received from any simple preparation, in the hope that he may thus contribute to the benefit of others. I do this more readily in regard to Hoofland's German Bitters, prepared by Dr. C. M. Jackson, of this city, because I was prejudiced against them for many years, under the impression that they were chiefly an alconolic mixture. I am indebted to my friend Bobert Shoemaker, Esq., fo the removal of this prejudice by proper tests, and for encouragement to try them, when suffering from great and long continued debility. The use of three bottles of these bitters, at the beginning of the present year, was followed by evident relief and restoration to a degree of bodily and mental vigor which I had not felt for six months before, and had almost despaired of regain-Although not disposed to favor or recommend patent six months before, and had almost despaired of regaining. I therefore thank God and my friend for directing me to the use of them.

J. NEWTON BROWN.

Philadelphia, June 23, 1861.

For those who desire and will have a liquor bitters, we publish the following receipt: Get one bottle of Boofland's German Bitters and m'x with three quarts of good Brundy or Whisky, and the result will be a

Prince Prince Angust 23, 1863.

Messas. Joses & Evans. Well, gentlemen, your Hoofland's German Bitters has saved my life. There is no mistake in this. It is vouched for by numbers of my courades, some of whose names are appended, and who were fully cognizant of all the circumstances of my case. I am, and have been for the last four years, a member of

IT IS SURE TO CURE!

IT IS SURE TO CURE!

It is impossible to enjoy the bloom of health and vi
It is impossible to enjoy the bloom of health and vi
fully, though unsuccessfully, to rescue me from the grass vacity of spirits unless the Menses are regular as to the fully, though unsuccessfully, to rescue me from the grasposetty of the dread archer, frankly told me they could do not be required to the dread archer, frankly told me they could do not be required to the dread archer, frankly told me they could do not be required to the dread archer, frankly told me they could do not be required to the dread archer, frankly told me they could do not be required to the dread archer, frankly told me they could do not be required to the dread archer, frankly told me they could do not be required to the dread archer, frankly told me they could do not be required to the dread archer, frankly told me they could do not be required to the dread archer, frankly told me they could do not be required to the dread archer, frankly told me they could do not be required to the dread archer, frankly told me they could do not be required to the dread archer, frankly told me they could do not be required to the dread archer, frankly told me they could do not be required to the dread archer, frankly told me they could do not be required to the dread archer, frankly told me they could do not be required to the dread archer tilet, and, unless these efforts of nature are assisted, the stent usually experiences Despondency. Nervousness d finally CONSUMPTION assumes its sway, and prethem the gloomy shadow of death receded, and I am now, thank God for it, getting better. Though I have taken but two bottles, I have gained ten pounds, and I feel sanguine of being permitted to rejoin my wife and daughter, from whom I have heard nothing for eighteen months; for, gentlemen, I am a loyal Virginian, from the vicinity of Front Royal. To your invaluable Bitters I owe the certainty of life which has taken the place of vacuus fears—to your Ritters will I owe the glorious

Very truly yours,

JOHN CUDDLEBACK, 1st New York Battery. GEO. A. ACKLEY, Co. C. 11th Maine. LEWIS CHEVALIER, 92d N. Y. L. E. SPENCER, 1st Artillery, Bat. F. B. FASEWELL, Co. B 3d Vt. HENRY B. JEROME, Co. B. do. HENRY T. MACDONALD, Co. C. 6th. Maine. JOHN F. WARD, Co E. 5th Maine. MAN KOCH, Co. H. 72d N. Y.

BEWARE OF COUNTERFEITS.

Price per Bottle 75c, or half : sen

JONES & EVANS. ressors to C. M. JACKSON & CO.

BRANDE'S TUSSILAGO Is c od for Public Speakers and Singers

WILL EFFECTUALLY CURE

Dyspepsia,

Jaundice,

such
as Constipation, Inward Piles,
Pulness or Blood to the
Head, Acidity of the Stomach,
Nausea, Heartburn, Disgust for Food.
Fulness or Weight in the stomach, Sour Eruc-

Constant Imaginings of Evil, and great De-

No Alcohol or Bad Whisky!

Do you want a good appetite?

Do you want to sleep well?

From Rev. J. Newton Brown, D. D., Editor of the Kn-cyclopedia of Religious Knowledge.

PARTICULAR NOTICE. There are many preparations sold under the name of Bitters, put up in quart bottles, compounded of the cheapest whisky or common rum, costing from 20 to 40c per gallon, the tast- disguised by anise or coriander seed.

This class of Bitters has caused and will continue to cause, as long as they can be sold, hundreds to die the death of the drunkard. By their use the system is kep continually under the influence of alcoholic stimulants of the worst kind, the desire for liquor is created and kept up, and the result is all the horrors extendant upon a drunkard's life and death.

preparation t st will far excel in medical virtue and true excellence s y of the numerous liquor bitters in the market, and sill cost much less. You will have all the virtues of Looplands Bitters in connection with a good article of liquor, at a much less price than these inferior

Attention Soldiers! and Friends of Soldiers!

in the army to the fact that "HOOPLAND'S German Bit-ters" will cure nine-tenths of the diseases induced by ex-posures and privations incident to camp life. In the lists, published almost daily in the newsparses on the We call the attention of all having relations or friends posures and privations incident to camp life. In the lists, published almost daily in the new-papers, on the arrival of the sick, it will be noticed that a very large proportion are suffering from detaility. Every case of that kind can be readily cured by Hoofland's German Bitters. Diseases resulting from disorders of the digestive organs are specific removed. We have no besitation in stating that, if these Bitters were freely used among our soldiers, bn, dreds of lives might be saved that otherwise will be lost.

We call particular attention to the following remarks— We call particular attention to the following remarka-ble and well authenticated o re of one of the nation's heroes, whose life, to use his own language, "has been

I am, and have been for the last four years, a member of Sherman's celebrated battery, and under the immediate command of Capt. R. B. Ayres. Through the exposure attendant upon my arduous duties, I was attacked in November last with inflammation of the lungs, and was for 72 days in the hospital. This was followed by great debility, hightened by an attack of dysentery. I was then removed from the White House, and sent to this city on board the steamer State of Maine, from which I landed on the 28th of June. Since that time I have been about as low as any one could be and still retain a spark of vitality. For a week or more I was scarcely able to awailow an thing, and if I did force a morsal down, it was immediately thrown up again.

vague fears—to your Ritters will I owe the glorious privilege of again clasping to my bosom those who are dearest to me in life.

We fully concur in the truth of the above statemess we had despaired of seeing our comrade, Mr. Malor restored to health.

NATHANIEL H. THOMAS, Co. F. 95th Pa. ANDREW J. KIMBALL, Co. A. 3d Vt. JOHN JENKINS, Co. B. 196th Pa.

See that the signature of "C. M. JACKSON" is on the

Should your nearest druggist not have the article, do not be put off by any of the intoxicating preparations that may be offered in its place, but send to us, and we will forward securely packed, by express. Principal Office and Manufactory,